Mass Pressure Needed on School Jim Crow

NAACP Plans New Moves in Southern Courts

By George Lavan

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, June 5 to plan its strategy in the fight to desegregate Southern schools. The conference was attended by 55 delegates from 16 Southern and border states. It was decided that legal actions would be started against school boards which had not made plans to begin applying the Supreme Court decision by the opening of school next September.

In the meantime NAACP branches were urged to put the heat on local school boards by petitioning them to begin complying with the high court's ruling. The day before the conference nine Negro parents in Atlanta filed such a petition with the Atlanta school board.

"PERHAPS A CENTURY"

Referring to a statement by the Attorney General of Georgia that the Supreme Court's decision meant "perhaps a century of litigation," Thurgood Marshall, head of the NAACP legal department, told the conference: "It will take more litigation but I guarantee you it won't be 100 years."

Marshall analyzed the court's implementation ruling in great detail, emphasizing its positive aspects and indicating the legal steps that could be taken to force the most out of it.

The NAACP points out three positive aspects in the decision. (1) It reaffirms the fundamental principle of the May 1954 decision that "racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional." (2) All laws, local, state and federal, contradicting the principle of the original decision are invalid. (3) The tone and language of the implementing ruling indicate that the Supreme Court justices expect the South to begin desegregating in "good faith."

Point 1 is merely a repetition of the May 1954 decision's main point. It is good to know the court hasn't reversed itself — without this reaffirmation many people might think the court had indeed reversed its original decision. Point 2 is but a corollary of Point 1. If school segregation is unconstitutional then laws providing for such segregation cannot also be constitutional.

Point 3 is small consolation. Fine sounding words like "good faith," "reasonable," "prompt," "as soon as practicable," etc., are the sugar coating for the bitter fact that the court's ruling is almost impotent.

These words were put in to placate the enemies of segregated schools and to cover the hypocrisy of the court which ruled a year ago that segregation was unconstitutional and which has now ruled, in effect, that it can continue in the South indefinitely.

RACIST "GOOD FAITH?"

What the NAACP leaders, in their forced optimism, gloss over is the glaring fact that the white-supremacist ruling class, which handpicks the local school boards and the federal district judges, has been handed the decision and told to apply it themselves. Pious admonitions to these racists to act in "good faith" are worth very little.

The Southern ruling class and its politicians have never exercised "good faith" as far as the constitutional rights of the Negro people are concerned before or since the Civil War. **The court expects the South to apply the 15th Amendment in "good faith." But the bullet-riddled corpse of Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Mississippi, who fought for the right to vote, is a token of the "good faith" to be expected.**

Similarly with the constitution's "due process of law"

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THE MILITANT

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Ford Settles for Semi-Annual Jobless Benefits Supplement

Open Letter to Foster On Stalinist Frame-ups

JUNE 7 — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent an open letter to William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, demanding that he account for his complicity in the murderous frame-up campaign of the Kremlin against the Yugoslav Titoists during the last seven years.

Dobbs challenged Foster to explain his support of the executions and arrests of Tito supporters in the East European countries in the light of Khrushchev's statement in Belgrade, May 26, admitting "the facts show" that the charges of "fascist" and "imperialist agents" against the Yugoslav leaders were "fabricated."

Following Khrushchev's statement, Dobbs cabled him in Belgrade June 7:

"In interest of USSR and world working class we demand you release from prisons and slave-labor camps all victims of this frame up."

In his letter to Foster, Dobbs points out that either Foster must himself demand the release of the frame-up victims or remain branded a servile tool of the Stalinists murder machine.

The full text of the letter follows.

William Z. Foster
Chairman, CPUSA

In your book, History of the Three Internationals, which was released on May Day you quote approvingly the Cominform statement of November 1949 calling Tito a "fascist." You endorse the whole Stalinist frame-up campaign against the Titoists, the purge trials in East European countries, the executions, mass imprisonment and countless other acts of terror against workers and government officials accused of association with Tito and his supporters.

You say on page 496, "Tito's defection had more dangerous implications than swinging Yugoslavia out of the peace camp. It was nothing short of an attempt to sever the relations between all the People's Democracies and the USSR and to lead the former into the imperialist camp. **This was brought out in the trials of Rajk, Kostov, and others in Budapest and Sofia in 1949.**" (My emphasis)

Thus you explicitly support the very purge trials which sparked the mass victimizations for "Titoism."

Now the whole world has been told that the accusations against Tito were "fabrications."

And this admission comes from none other than the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Nikita S. Khrushchev!

What do you say now? If, as Khrushchev admits, there was a frame-up against Tito, what of the thousands of victims who are now in prison — and what of those who were executed as "fascists?" And, yes, what of your complicity in these frame-ups and murders?

Don't you owe the working class of the United States an explanation on this score?

The Daily Worker has echoed Khrushchev's claim that the frame-up of the Titoists was the result of the evil deeds of Lavrentia Beria, former head of the Secret Police, now executed. According to Khrushchev, "materials were fabricated" by Beria, "materials on which had been based the serious accusations and offenses directed at the time against leaders of Yugoslavia."

We leave aside for the mo-

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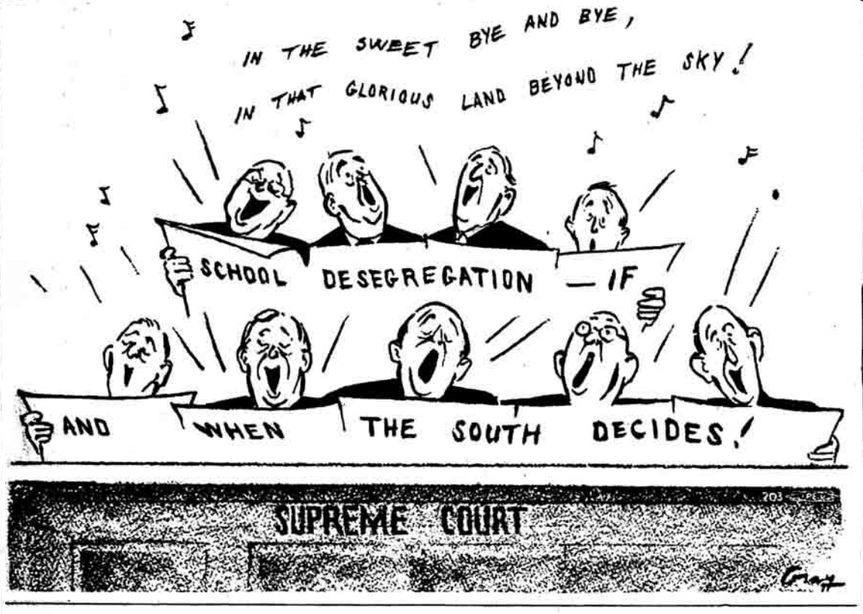

BRITISH STRIKERS FIRM DESPITE TORY THREATS

JUNE 8 — Unmoved by government threats or the howling Big Business press, British rail strikers remained out solidly for the eleventh day. So it was too with striking longshoremen, who for 16 days have tied up numerous ports in their struggle for union recognition. Now the strike movement has spread to the crews of passenger liners who are demanding better living and working conditions aboard ship.

The Tory government of Sir Anthony Eden appears to be backing down from the fierce talk and strikebreaking plans it engaged in immediately after the elections. Eden asked for emergency powers and implied troops would be used for strikebreaking. The Tory press launched a campaign to whip up popular "indignation" against the strike, which it was claimed, would wreck British prosperity. The British public, which in its majority is working class, refused, however, to get "indignant" at the strikers.

AGREE TO PARLEY

This failure to arouse public opinion against the rail strikers added to the adamant stand of the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen caused British Big Business and its Prime Minister to change their tune. **Previously the Ministry of Labor and the British Transport Commission had refused to talk with the ASLEF until the men had returned to work, now they have agreed to negotiate while the strike goes on.**

The highly skilled rail strikers are demanding wage increases of 21 to 77 cents a week. They are pitifully underpaid: for a 40-hour week engine cleaners get $18.62, firemen and assistant motormen get $22.96, and engineers get $27.30. Long hours of overtime are necessary to meet the increased cost of living.

Nearly 20,000 longshoremen have tied up 173 ships in London, Hull, Liverpool and other ports. Ninety-five other ships are undermanned. The issue is the demand of the young National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers Union for the right to have its representatives handle the grievances of its members. The employers and their favorite union, Transport & General Workers, bitterly oppose this.

Great Britain may well be on the verge of a great strike movement in which the working class will turn to economic struggle to raise the low wage scales that prevail. Many observers believe that the workers, disappointed by the lack of program of the right-wing-led Labor Party, have turned temporarily from political to economic struggle. **Another powerful element in the current strike movement is the desire of the British workers to replace the antiquated structure of their bureaucratized unions with a militant, democratic form of unionism. This is a main issue in the dockers' strike.**

Drug addicts in the U.S. were estimated at 60,000, or about one person in every 3,000, by a U.S. Narcotics Commissioner testifying before a Senate committee.

Close-up Of Oakland SWP Campaign

By Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

[Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, recently completed a national tour during which we published his on-the-spot reports and analyses of the economic and political situation in some of the main industrial centers of the country. Comrade Dobbs is now completing these reports in a number of articles.]

OAKLAND — **"Discontent and unrest run deeper today than surface signs indicate. A lot of quiet thinking is going on. Most people are inclined to give a socialist candidate an attentive hearing even though socialist ideas may be new to them."**

That is how Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-large summed up her experience in the recent local elections. She made these remarks as we toured Oakland and its suburbs to view the social and industrial setting in which the election campaign took place.

Production is widely diversified here, ranging from shipbuilding and auto assembling to cotton spinning and food canning. Industrial expansion during and since World War II has attracted many workers to the city, swelling the population toward half a million. Among those coming here are Negroes, mainly from Oklahoma and Texas, who have arrived in such numbers that the Negro minority now

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Workers Hit Concessions By Reuther

By George Breitman

DETROIT, June 7—Henry Ford the Second was described as the happiest man in town yesterday. "I feel perfect, wonderful," he exulted a few minutes after the announcement that the Ford Motor Co. and the UAW-CIO negotiating committee had reached a contract agreement.

John Bugas, Ford's head negotiator, was also elated. "Thank God we could reach this historic agreement without a company-wide strike," he cried.

Walter Reuther, UAW president, was equally delighted, agreeing that it was a "historic agreement" and "the largest economic package ever offered."

Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600 and a member of the negotiating committee, said the contract represented "more progress" than any the UAW had ever negotiated in the past.

WORKER'S REACTIONS

But these sentiments were not shared by the Ford Rouge workers who gathered outside Gate 4 at noon yesterday, 15,000 strong, to hear Stellato's report on the negotiations which had finished just a few minutes earlier, and to learn whether or not there would be a strike. (Virtually all the other Ford plants in the country had walked out 12 hours before, at the midnight deadline.)

They listened to Stellato's report on the main features of the settlement, to his praise of the negotiating committee, to his plea that they ratify the new contract in the vote to be held later this month, and to his request that they go back into the plant. And they didn't like it.

Not a single worker present could be heard expressing agreement with Stellato's glowing estimate of the new contract. Some expressed their dissatisfaction by booing sections of his talk. The skilled workers were loudest in voicing their discontent. But they were in a minority.

At the same time there was no enthusiasm among the majority. This meeting wasn't at all like the larger one held at the same spot last Wednesday, when the workers had cheered Stellato's promise to keep fighting for their demands and to call a strike yesterday if a satisfactory settlement wasn't reached by then.

Those who didn't boo Stellato said, "What could you expect?" or "It's the best you could expect." This was not meant as praise of the contract, but as criticism of the company for its stubborn refusal to grant their demands, or as criticism of the union leadership for not fighting hard enough, or both.

"3 IS BETTER THAN 5"

A minority of the workers present, mainly the skilled workers, were plainly angry and rebellious. Among the others, the predominant sentiment at yesterday's meeting seemed to be relief. Relief that the company had withdrawn its original demands to worsen the contract, which had roused their bitterness when publicized last month. Relief that they had obtained "the best you could expect" without a strike. Relief that the tension and uncertainty about a strike had apparently ended. **And relief most of all that there would not be another union-strangling five-year contract, expressed by the widely repeated remark, "Well, three is better than five."**

Few workers obeyed Stellato's request to go back to work. Some who had counted on a strike went off to their cars, saying, "Not today." Some went into the plant, but not all of them stayed there.

(Continued on page 2)

How East German Uprising Echoed in Stalin's Prisons

By Brigitte Gerland

June 17, 1953. A radiant summer day — even the polar wind is warm and soft. A smile crosses the tundra, sparkling in bright colors. The city of Vorkuta also smiles. Its stooped wooden houses stretch in the sun, and the small windows, at other times so grey, now shower the streets with gold.

We are working at the railroad station, raising the rails that always try to sink back into the muddy marshground. The loudspeaker blares the usual march music at the usual volume. Then comes the news. We listen with only half an ear. Suddenly we let pick and shovel fall and crowd around the wooden pole on which the loudspeaker is suspended as if it were a speared flying saucer. What was that? Is it possible? Surely we didn't hear right.

But wait. There it is again! Uprising in Berlin — in East Berlin. These unbelievable, stirring words are woven into a long fantastic story about American agents, who marched with fascist bands on East Berlin, there to stage an uprising. The people naturally oppose it and are protesting.

FINDING THE TRUTH

So confused, mixed up and unbelievable is the whole affair that I can't think what to make of it. But my Russian comrades cut through the mass of lies and misleading statements with amazing acuteness. Out of a few meager bits of truth they put together a mosaic that ends in a picture corresponding fully to the facts.

A workers' rising against the bureaucracy. Spontaneous, not organized, and yet the mightiest demonstration against occupation regimes in East and West. This is what the first "Vorkuta Commentator" declares, cutting through the mounting heap of fantastic, treacherous and unbelievable official commentaries.

We are not to be budged the whole day long from our station under the loudspeaker, and after a while our three soldier guards come to find out what's new.

"Do the 'Amis' want to start a war?" one of them asks.

"Nonsense. Uprising in East Germany. A workers' uprising. Maybe the beginning of a great revolution."

Two of the soldiers are not yet 17. They listen, eyes round and amazed. But the third, a worker's son from Moscow, who had fought

BRIGITTE GERLAND, author of this article on the 2nd anniversary of the East Germany uprising, is a German writer who joined the Communist Party in the Soviet Zone, became disillusioned with Stalinism and was sentenced by Moscow's secret political police to 15 years imprisonment on a frame-up charge of being a "British spy." After eight years in Stalin's prison camps, she was released in December 1953.

in Berlin and served a long time in the occupation army, shakes his head. "As long as the armies are there, they can't do anything in Germany — either in the East or the West. Without arms, against tanks and machine guns, that's simply madness! I am sorry only for our poor youngsters. They will be sent out and will have to shoot when ordered, whether they want to or not." Sighing he sits down on the grass and rolls a cigarette out of a scrap of newspaper and tobacco crumbs.

"THEY WON'T SHOOT"

"Well, who has the weapons, when you get right down to it," a prisoner responds, "the youngsters or the generals? I tell you they won't shoot. Definitely not. After all, they'll see that these are workers, who fight for no other reason than because they want the right to live as men."

"And what if the Americans should use this opportunity to march into East Germany?" says the soldier hesitatingly.

"Why should they march in? They fear a war as much as our superiors," the youngest soldier answered him.

Another prisoner says, "They will sit on the fence and look on peacefully while the uprising is put down, which is the best thing that can happen, anyway, as far as they are concerned. In cases like this the rulers over here and the rulers over there always stand together. Take my word for it."

The foreman comes over to us at last, an old man with the long grey beard of a muzhik.

"What's wrong?" he asks. "Is it war?"

"No, but it is revolution . . . uprising . . . workers' uprising in East Germany . . . strike . . . revolution."

"Hm," says the old man thoughtfully. "The Germans have cornered the devil. They will now find a way to get rid of the occupation. They are not as long-suffering as we. They won't take everything lying down. But we, we are a dark people."

"That's all rot," my friend Svetlana retorts firmly. "Think a bit. After all, we were the ones who made the greatest revolution of all, not the Germans, although they had all the advantages."

"And we were the ones who lost the greatest revolution of all," bitterly laughs the soldier from Moscow.

WILL HELP COME?

I feel that the debate will now get lost as always in endless wrangling around the old question: Why, why, did it all end up this way? Why was the revolution lost, betrayed? But I don't believe that we have time now to go back to the past, and before anyone else can cut in ahead of me, I say quickly: **"Now everything depends on how West Germany will react. They ought to declare a general strike today. Otherwise the East German uprising will lose out and a big opportunity will be missed."**

Everyone immediately tackles this question.

"But the general strike has already been declared. They are going to strike until all occupation forces are withdrawn," says an enthusiatic voice. "After all, in West Germany they have their big working class organizations. What good are they if they can't take leadership in such a decisive moment?"

I must dampen this feeling of

(Continued on page 3)

Court Fails to Act on "Faceless Informers"

The U.S. Supreme Court continued its cautious chipping away at the witch hunt by deciding on June 6 that Dr. John P. Peters, Yale medical professor, had been illegally fired from a government post on disloyalty charges. While the decision was a setback for the loyalty purgers, the court dodged the main constitutional issue of the case, namely, the government's use of secret informers in its kangaroo-court loyalty hearings.

By 7-to-2 however, the high court decided to clear Prof. Peters on a technicality. This was the finding that the Loyalty Review Board had exceeded its authority under Truman's Executive Order 9835 (which set up the subversive list and purge). The Loyalty Review Board was set up and empowered to promulgate regulations by Order 9835. However, said the court, its Regulation 14 — allowing the Review Board to re-hear a case where lower loyalty boards had cleared the accused — contradicted Order 9835.

The liberal professor, who worked for the Public Health Service only a few days a year as consultant (and was paid by the day), had twice been cleared by lower loyalty boards before the Review Board in 1953 branded him a security risk. Although the federal witch hunters have been following this procedure since 1947, and although Eisenhower's Executive Order 10450 (superseding Truman's 9835) approved reopening cases of cleared victims, the Supreme Court pretended to believe that the Loyalty Review Board had acted without the president's knowledge or consent.

Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black, although voting with the majority, gave vigorous separate opinions in which they took the court to task for dodging the constitutional issue. **Douglas said: "Dr. Peters was condemned by faceless informers, some of whom were not known even to the board that condemned him. Some of these informers were not even under oath. None of them had to submit to cross-examination. None had to face Dr. Peters. So far as we or the board know, they may be psychopaths or venal people, like Titus Oates, who revel in being informers. They may bear old grudges. . .**

"Confrontation and cross-examination under oath are essential, if the American ideal of due process is to remain a vital force in our public life. We deal here with the reputation of men and their right to work — things more precious than property itself. . . The practice of using faceless informers has apparently spread through a vast domain. It is used not only to get rid of employes in the government, but also employes who work for private firms having contracts with the government."

Justice Black went even further, questioning the constitutionality of any sort of political blacklist and purge system. He wrote: "I also doubt that the Congress could delegate power to do what the president has attempted to do in the Executive Order under consideration here. And of course the Constitution does not confer lawmaking power on the president."

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — VI

The CIO's Political Coalition with Roosevelt

By Art Preis

The Committee for Industrial Organization remained formally within the structure of the AFL until March 1937. Then the AFL Executive Council ordered expulsion of all CIO unions from city and state federations. A CIO constitutional convention was not held until October 1938, when its permanent name, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was adopted. But the split was definitive, in fact, from the start. The CIO proceeded at once to its own independent activity and organization. For the most part, it ignored the warnings, threats, summonses, suspensions and curses of the AFL leaders.

In the Nov. 16, 1935, Militant —the same issue which told of the "deep split" within the AFL and the formation of the CIO — another great and related event was described. A story from Akron, dated Nov. 11, reported that all workers in the truck tire department of the Goodyear plant had protested a wage cut by a two-hour "strike" — "the third department in Goodyear that sat down at work while a delegation went to management" to demand restoration of wage rates. Management gave in. This is the earliest reported CIO-inspired "sit-down" strike — the tactic that was to become inseparably associated with the heroic rise of the CIO.

The Firestone workers on Jan. 28, 1936, decided to use the same tactic. Some 2,500 of them "sat down" to force the rehiring of a fired unionist. This time they stayed overnight — several nights, in fact. After first refusing to meet with a union committee, the company finally capitulated. The union won virtually all its demands. Spontaneous sit-downs began to sweep through all the rubber plants.

A full-scale strike of 15,000 Goodyear workers developed, with mass picketing. On Feb. 25, the company officials and city authorities determined on a show of violence to smash the strike. The local unionists mobilized their forces for a defensive battle. The CIO had sent them financial aid and voiced its support. This was a tremendous inspiration to the strikers in this first great battle under the CIO banner. The Feb. 29, 1936, Militant reports the climatic moment of the strike:

"As the zero-hour neared, hundreds of pickets packed into the strike headquarters across from the struck plant. Thousands more took the streets in front of the picket posts. Each picket was well provided with 'fire wood.' Up the hill marched the forces of law and order. Grimly the strikers waited. The cops in the lead, the strikebreakers marched closer and closer to the massed rubber workers. The line refused to budge. Finally, Police Chief Boss halted his men a few feet from the taut strikers. Nervously he looked the situation over. He was outstared.

"Breaking down, he cried out, 'I've never led anyone into a goddam slaughterhouse, and I'm not going to now.' The cops broke ranks, the deputies marched down the hill again, to the accompaniment of tremendous jeers and boos from the massed pickets. One of the deputies suddenly clutched his stomach and became violently ill. The strikers, with their magnificent demonstration of militancy and determination, had carried the day."

The settlement of the five-week Goodyear strike also revealed the weak side and limitations of the CIO leaders. They persuaded the strikers to accept a vaguely-phrased compromise settlement put forward by a Roosevelt administration mediator.

Contrary to the popular belief, the CIO leaders did not differ essentially from the AFL craft leaders in considering strikes only as a "last resort." They were not "strike-minded." Indeed, the first year of the CIO saw a sharp decline in the number of strikers. From a high of 1,467,000 in 1934, the number of strikers fell to 789,000 in 1936.

What preoccupied the minds of the CIO leaders was politics. They didn't rush out to organize strikes. Their first big moves were to mobilize the workers for political action. Where the AFL leaders had traditionally opposed political organization of the workers and had merely made personal pronouncements in favor of candidates for public office, the CIO right from the start sought to organize the workers politically.

But the CIO leaders were not motivated by belief in class politics. On the contrary, they hoped to use the workers' voting strength as a means of winning the "good will" of the Roosevelt administration and bargaining for small concessions through government intervention on behalf of labor. Their politics was a device not to advance the independent class power of the workers but to "get in good" with the reigning capitalist political machine and solicit favors from it.

How LNPL and ALP Were Formed

In Roosevelt's fourth year of office, at the May 1936 Amalgamated Clothing Workers Convention, Sidney Hillman complained that less than 15% of the workers were organized that "the mass production industries have gone back to long hours and wage-cutting, while we still have ten or twelve million people unemployed." Nevertheless, to the CIO leaders "everything now turned on the re-election of Roosevelt in 1936." **(Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor, by Matthew Josephson.)**

In February 1936, to the great consternation of the CIO leaders, AFL Teamsters chief, Daniel J. Tobin, one of the most powerful opponents of the CIO faction, was appointed to head the National Labor Committee of the Democratic Party.

Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky and their colleagues feared that the AFL was getting the "in" with Roosevelt. The President, of course, did play the AFL against the CIO, a policy he was to pursue through his entire administration. But this hastened Lewis and Hillman to "cook up," as Hillman later expressed it, Labor's Non-Partisan League to mobilize labor votes for Roosevelt.

Lewis, who many years later admitted that he had had doubts and suspicions of Roosevelt as far back as the beginning of NRA in 1933, nevertheless proclaimed in 1936 that "labor has gained more under President Roosevelt than under any president in memory. Obviously it is the duty of labor to support Roosevelt 100 per cent." He did not say that more company unions had been organized, more workers killed, wounded and jailed, more troops called out against strikers under Roosevelt than under any president in memory. He did not tell how Roosevelt had strengthened the big banks and industrial corporations and helped to tighten the stranglehold of the monopolies on the American economy.

Labor's Non-Partisan League was represented, at the time of its formation, as a broad step in the direction of independent labor political action. Its main purpose, however, was just the opposite. **It was created to be a bridge back from independent political action for hundreds of thousands of unionists who then customarily voted Socialist or Communist or were clamoring at the time for a Labor Party. This was particularly true in the key state of New York, where the great majority of workers in the garment industry had traditionally opposed the capitalist parties.**

Dubinsky and Hillman especially needed the LNPL and even a separate American Labor Party as a means for channelizing the votes of their union members into the Roosevelt stream. Hillman's biographer Josephson has described the game:

"For Hillman the first and most important task was to 'sell' the idea to his own union people . . . Many of the union members, especially in New York and Chicago, had grown up in the tradition of supporting the Socialist Party, at least locally, and shunning our Tammany Halls. What Hillman advocated now was a distinctly **opportunistic** approach. The new League, unlike La Follette's Progressive Party of 1924, was to function mainly through one of the two major parties, and particularly the Democratic Party, in order to ensure Roosevelt's re-election. Some left-wing unionists had their doubts about Roosevelt . . . As an 'honest broker' in politics he often gave the effect of facing both ways, especially on the company union issue. Moreover, in the Democratic Party's Southern stronghold CIO organizers were still welcomed by armed mobs of vigilantes or Klansmen . . ." (original emphasis.)

Hillman, of course, did not tell his membership that he was proposing to completely abandon their traditional policy of independent political action. "We have had a policy, which was not to endorse either of the two political parties, and that if we took a position it should be along Socialist lines," he admitted to his General Executive Board in late April, 1936. "The position of our organization is known: that we are for a labor party. We are today bound . . . to help bring about a labor or farmer-labor party — what is commonly known as independent political action. But in the last two years things have happened . . . since the coming of the Roosevelt Administration. We have participated in making the labor policy of the Administration."

The labor leaders had participated merely as back-door beggars at the White House whining for crumbs. Their simplest requests had been rejected, as in the case of the company union clauses in the NRA codes.

Announcement on April 2, 1936, of the formation of the LNPL was followed on July 16, 1936, by the formation of the American Labor Party as a New York state affiliate of LNPL. "The thought was to channel the 'regular' Socialists into the Roosevelt camp," writes Josephson. In addition to Dubinsky, Hillman and Alex Rose of the Millinery Workers, the founders of the ALP included such conservative unionists as Joseph P. Ryan, who was to have himself voted "lifetime" president of the International Longshoremen's Association, George Meany, then head of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, as well as the right-wing of the Socialist Party. The new party "also enjoyed the support of Governor Herbert Lehman, A. A. Berle, and Mayor La Guardia — all in a remarkable amalgamation of AFL and CIO unionists, as well as Republican Fusionists, New Deal Democrats and Socialists," comments Josephson. **He leaves out one other ally — the Stalinists. They, too, joined the unholy alliance and played a decisive part in this "People's Front" for the betrayal of labor's independent political action program.**

It should be noted that AFL leaders who could not stomach the CIO as an organizer of the unorganized industrial workers could join with it in a "non-partisan" body to harness the workers to capitalist politics for the re-election of the "New Deal" President.

Dubinsky, one of the key sponsors of the ALP, had actually been a member of the Socialist Party in 1936. He resigned and joined the Roosevelt camp. Benjamin Stolberg, in **Tailor's Progress**, a history of the ILGWU and its president Dubinsky, relates that the garment workers would not register "en masse" in the Democratic Party and that this led Dubinsky to conceive of the device of "fusion" to corral the garment workers' votes. Stolberg writes:

"In New York, where the great majority of them [garment workers] live, they were used to the device of fusion, which cuts across all parties. Mayor La Guardia had shown what could be done by mixing all sorts of political factions in the name of roaring progress. Dubinsky and other New Deal labor leaders decided to combine those trade union and 'good government' forces which had been the backbone of the fusion movement in New York into a labor party. They felt that the socialist traditions of the workers could thus be canalized into support of the New Deal, which would give them a good deal of political power. The American Labor Party was to be the strangest of all animals — a non-partisan political party."

Dubinsky's biographer further relates that when the Stalinists had gained considerable power in the ALP, "one of the reasons the right-wingers continued to stay in the ALP was that the New Deal wanted them there. Without them there could have been no ALP and the politicians in the New Deal needed such a party in New York State."

The history of the CIO was to constantly appear as an admixture of two elements. On the one hand, mass organization of the industrial workers was to lead to titanic strike battles, most often initiated by the militant ranks despite the leadership. On the other, the workers were to be cheated of many gains they might have won because of the intervention of the government which had the backing of the CIO leaders themselves. Unwilling to "embarrass" the Democratic administrations, forced by the very fact of their political alliance to cover up the anti-labor acts of the New Deal and Fair Deal regimes, the CIO leaders kept one arm of the CIO — its political arm — tied behind its back. Reliance on the capitalist government and on one of its major political wings crippled the CIO. That is what really caused its early, and not unrealizable, dream of 25 million members to be shattered.

Clear Tested Vaccine

U.S. Surgeon General Leonard A. Scheele (l.) and Dr. Jonas Salk, discoverer of polio vaccine, are shown leaving a meeting in Washington. Dr. Scheele announced all vaccine, except two lots from Cutter Laboratories, "has been found safe." Profit motive and lack of government control created danger of unsafe vaccines and delay in vaccine program.

Economics, Politics And W. Reuther

By George Breitman

DETROIT, June 7 — The May issue of Voice of Local 212, the big UAW local that is led by supporters of Walter Reuther, printed an article that is particularly interesting in the light of the Ford settlement negotiated since the article appeared.

The article reports a recent discussion with a visiting Swedish trade unionist about differences between European and U.S. union strategy and methods. The Swede is quoted as saying:

"The UAW uses economic action to get political results. . . As soon as you got pensions (in UAW contracts), the employers put pressure on the government to raise social security because pensions were tied in with social security. Employers felt that if social security was raised they would not have to pay so much in pensions."

Similarly, says the Swede, with the guaranteed annual wage. When the UAW gets it, "Then the employers will use their influence to have the government raise unemployment compensation. So you see, through economic action you will get political results."

"REUTHER IS SMART?"

Asked what was wrong with that, he replied:

"Nothing is wrong with it; it shows Walter Reuther is smart. . . This plan will pinch the employer's pocketbook. So the employer will help organized labor to fight for more unemployment benefits. . . You use economic action to get political results. In Europe we get our political results through our labor party. Then we concentrate on economic demands through our unions. To fight on two fronts at the same time, we think it's better that way. . . I do not say it is the best way for the labor movement in your country. I do not know. . ."

Just how "smart" Reuther is can be seen from the Ford contract incorporating his precious GAW "principle." It costs the company five cents an hour per employee and provides laid-off workers with an average of $9 a week added to their unemployment compensation for a limited number of weeks.

An average increase of $9 a week in unemployment benefits is hardly something to brag about. In an unguarded moment two days before he signed the Ford contract, Reuther said it was "inadequate." It's still inadequate. It still leaves the workers who get it (and so far less than 1% of American union members are eligible) with unemployment benefits that border on the starvation level.

Instead of FIGHTING the employers and their government to raise jobless benefits, Reuther's strategy is to pressure them into collaborating with the union leaders in persuading the government to raise them. To do this, he has to suppress the militancy of the workers and give up the fight against speedup in the plants. And that's only one of the fatal flaws in his strategy.

Providing unemployment compensation is, as the Swede noted, traditionally a responsibility of the state — a political problem. Why does Reuther have to work out such an elaborate, complicated, roundabout method of achieving a political result?

Because his POLITICAL policy is bankrupt.

On coming to power in this country, a Labor Party, even one that was no more radical than the Swedish or British types, would almost automatically raise unemployment benefits three or four times the $9 weekly average Reuther's strategy has brought to a small percentage of the workers. The mere formation of a Labor Party would probably scare the capitalist parties into granting jobless benefit raises twice $9.

OPPOSES LABOR PARTY

But Reuther is opposed to a Labor Party. He wants to keep the workers tied to the capitalist system, and to the capitalist Democratic Party. The Democrats are glad to have Reuther's support but nobody notices them, when they are in power, doing anything more than the Republicans to provide decent jobless compensation. Reuther's political policy stands as a block to getting adequate jobless benefits. And it explains why he has to try to seek "political results" through roundabout "economic action"; he simply can't get them through his own pro-Democratic political policy.

The Swedish trade unionist is absolutely correct when he says, "To fight on two fronts at the same time, we think it's better that way." It's better that way for Sweden, and it's better that way for the United States.

The way to win gains in jobless benefits and other forms of social security is by COMBINED economic and political action, provided that these actions are based on a policy of struggle against the capitalists, not an effort to get their collaboration. **What American workers need is both a Labor Party and unions following a class-struggle policy — both fighting to provide trade union wages for all workers laid off through no fault of their own, to win in law and in union contracts a shorter work week with no reduction in pay, and to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class that is responsible for the continuation of want, insecurity and unemployment among the workers.**

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(Continued from page 1)

The press reported that fewer than 5,000 of the 30,000 day-shift workers returned to work yesterday afternoon.

The Tool and Die unit leaders told its members to stay out of the plant. They earn 70 cents an hour below the maximum paid for their skill in the job shops, and had demanded 30 cents an hour wage raise. Local 600 leaders denounced the walkout as unauthorized and ordered the tool and die men back to work. But they refused, the walkout spread to other skilled departments, and today the Rouge plant was almost completely shut down as a result of workers not showing up or being sent home for lack of work to do.

[On June 8, the third day of the Rouge walkout, the Tool and Die unit called off its strike and voted to conduct a campaign to get the production workers to join them in voting down the new contract in the vote that will be held on June 20 and 21. — Ed.]

This contract probably was the most that could be expected — without a fight. Ford is rolling in profits and the whole package will make only a small dent in them. In such an economic situation a union leadership that was willing to put up a real struggle could have won some major concessions this year. But the Reuther leadership, cowed by the newspaper propaganda that a strike would make it responsible for putting a crimp in the current prosperity, went to extremes to avert a strike.

In fact, a hard question to answer is who was more afraid of a strike — Ford or Reuther? Anyhow, Reuther made most of the concessions, not Ford; and Stellato, looked to by a sizable section of the auto union to provide a progressive opposition to Reuther, went along with him on the whole in the present negotiations.

STOCK SALE FRAUD

At only one point in the negotiations did Reuther show any sign of firmess, and that was when he was literally forced to reject Ford's contemptuous stock-sales offer (analyzed in last week's Militant). There is reason now to believe that this offer wasn't seriously meant in the first place; Ford apparently put it forward partly as a feeler and partly to make some cheap propagada for sale of the stock he will soon put on the market.

Even this insulting offer brought concessions from Reuther on his central demand — his guaranteed annual wage plan to supplement unemployment compensation for a maximum of 52 weeks. He immediately scaled down the proposal from the equivalent of full weekly pay minus taxes to 80% of weekly pay before taxes. And he offered to lower the company's liability under the GAW from a maximum of 16 cents an hour per employee to 12 cents.

Then Ford came out with its real offer last Tuesday — substantially the present package. From there on it was Reuther who did all the giving. First, he accepted "the general principles contained in the company's general approach." Next, he agreed to accept the figure of $55,000,000 for a company trust fund to supplement unemployment compensation, and to accept company payment into this fund at the rate of five cents an hour per employe the first year, six cents the second year, and seven cents the third year.

Ford's proposal was that laid-off workers get no supplemental unemployment benefits the first week, that they get benefits bringing their income to 65% of weekly pay the next four weeks, and to 60% during the next 22 weeks.

For four days Reuther begged Ford to increase the benefits to 80% of weekly pay, including unemployment compensation, and that the benefits last for 52 weeks instead of 26. Ford stood fast.

ATTACKS FORD OFFER

Last Saturday, two days before the deadline for a strike, Reuther publicly called for arbitration in order to prevent a strike. The company proposal, he charged, provided "inadequate levels of benefits." This charge he supported with revealing statistics:

"Under the Ford proposal," he said, "a worker in Michigan with a wife and two children whose straight time earnings excluding bonuses, are $90 a week would draw from the fund nothing for the first week of layoff, $7.72 for the first four weeks thereafter, and then $3.66 a week." Under the union plan this worker would get almost $20 a week, plus compensation.

"Ford," continued Reuther, "says the size of the trust fund was calculated on the basis of an average benefit from the fund of $25 a week, but proposes to pay benefits which actually average only $9 a week."

Reuther urged Ford to submit to arbitration the amount and duration of benefits from the fund. Ford, seeing how anxious Reuther was to prevent a strike, rejected the arbitration proposal without ceremony.

In the next two days, Reuther gave in still further. Some face-saving changes, all trivial, were given him in return for his capitulation on the major points still in dispute. Bugas said the final agreement had some minor changes but "was basically as first presented." The only change of significance as that Ford's payment to the fund will be five cents an hour per employee for all three years, the other cent being offered in other forms.

REUTHER SHIFTS

And so what Reuther on Saturday called "inadequate" he hailed on Monday as "the largest economic package ever offered." What a difference two days made — in claims anyhow. Ford also made some inflated claims, saying the new contract provides laid-off workers with cash benefits "up to $25 a week." This time Reuther kept mum, saying nothing about the $9 average he had cited and complained about on Saturday.

The real cash value of Reuther's big GAW "crusade" turns out to be five cents an hour. That's what Ford workers will get added to their regular wages in states where cash supplements to unemployment compensation are prohibited by local laws. That's the value of the "principle" Reuther harped on so long, and for which he was willing to subordinate more basic needs of the workers — such as the fight for a shorter work week.

Ford took Reuther at his word when he insisted that his main interest was in getting recognition of his GAW "principle." It granted him something that could be labeled his "principle," but little more. As for the workers, they certainly didn't get a guaranteed annual wage, for (1) it's not a wage but a meager supplement to jobless benefits; (2) it's not annual, but semi-annual at best; and (3) it's not guaranteed, because the employer has no responsibility beyond the trust fund, and can't be held liable when that runs out, as it surely would in a period of serious unemployment. In return, the workers had to forego the five-cent cash wage increase they might otherwise have got.

Other contract provisions included an annual improvement factor ranging between six and 8 1/2 cent an hour each year of the contract (it was five cents in the old contract); wage increases of five to ten cents an hour for certain skilled workers; an additional paid holiday; and slightly improved cost-of-living escalator, pension, vacation and insurance plans. The company gave no overall figure and Reuther estimated the total package at an average of about 20 cents an hour, although most workers will get only six cents an hour more in cash this year.

On the whole, Ford has greater reason to hail the contract than Reuther. The company gave some concessions to avert a strike, but it will more than make up for them during the period of the contract by speedup and automation. The only thing Ford wanted and didn't get was a five-year contract. Here both sides compromised, although Reuther had to violate a UAW convention decision not to sign any contract longer than two years.

What effects will the new contract have on the auto union?

Reuther pictured it as a victory for his policy of class-collaboration, saying it was a "lesson to communists" and proved that "free labor and free capital can get together in a democratic world." He smiled and nodded when Bugas, shaking his hand, said, "I hope our relations continue as smoothly in the future as they have until now."

If Reuther is able to get a similar deal from General Motors without a struggle, then the prospect for the immediate period ahead is probably a continuation of the situation that prevailed under the five-year contract. That is, the UAW will continue to seek "smooth relations" with the corporations and try to keep the workers from getting out of hand as the corporations push the speedup, reduce the labor force through automation, chisel on the contract and let grievances gather moss until 1958.

STELLATO'S ROLE

Inside the union, Reuther's position is still strong. For this he can thank not so much the new contract as the fact that Stellato has hailed it as the best the union ever negotiated and has praised Reuther for doing "a wonderful job" in negotiations. A principled opponent of Reutherism might have had to accept this contract, given the present relation of forces inside the UAW, but would never have assumed full responsibility for it, as Stellato did. Reuther undoubtedly will try to use this as a weapon to spike the growth of a militant opposition inside the union.

Today's walkout at the Rouge plant showed that Stellato had misgauged the sentiments of a large part of his own local. He had promised to oppose any attempts by Reuther to use the winning of the GAW "principle" as a pretext for burying other demands regarded as more vital by many Ford workers. They had looked to him to provide an alternative to, or at least an effective check on, the Reutherite kind of negotiations.

Now many of them feel Stellato has deserted them, and their wildcat strike was by implication against Stellato as well as the company and Reuther. Their militancy in this walkout, even if it proves unsuccessful in winning their objectives, shows something of what might be possible with a better, more consistent and more principled leadership.

But whatever Reuther or Stellato do, a lot of things can happen in three years.

LESSONS TO LEARN

During that time the workers will have a further chance to learn that "smooth relations" between Bugas and Reuther mean rough going for the workers subjected to the speedup in the plants.

They will learn from experience how little genuine "added security" has been provided by the winning of Reuther's GAW principle.

They will feel the further effects of automation in terms of layoffs; they will have occasion to remember that Bugas was asked today, "What about the 30-hour week?" and "jokingly" answered, "Don't ever mention that for at least three years"; and to learn that the UAW's big failure in the 1955 negotiations was its muffing, at Reuther's insistence, of the opportunity to fight for a 30-hour work week at 40-hours' pay.

And they will also surely get the chance to observe during the next three years that American capitalism, on whose continuation Reuther bases his whole policy, is unable to provide them with firm and lasting employment or stability.

Study and assimilation of these lessons by the militant workers in the UAW can produce a left-wing movement to return the union to a class-struggle policy that could radically change the whole picture before 1958.

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June 17, 1953 -- A Day to Remember

Two years ago on June 16, 1953, five thousand construction workers in East Berlin defied the tyrannical Stalinist regime and went on strike against a bureaucratic decree for a ten percent increase in production quotas. The strikers marched through the city to the government buildings and called upon the workers to join them.

The frightened retreat of the Stalinist bureaucrats on the speed-up grievance was not enough. There were bigger issues. The daring action of the construction workers sparked a general strike that swept throughout the Stalinist-occupied zone of Germany.

On June 17 the East German workers closed down the factories. They marched on government buildings. They opened the jails, freed the political prisoners and burned the prison files. In 38 industrial cities workers fought the Stalinist police in pitched battles and raised the political demands of the general strike.

They told the Kremlin rulers and the whole world: We want liberation from the Stalinist gang. But we don't want to go back into the capitalist jungle. We want the withdrawal of occupation armies — the unification of Germany — free and secret elections. And in these free elections, we must "prepare for a workers' victory."

The Stalinists slandered the revolution as a conspiracy of "foreign agents" of imperialism. But the U.S.-sponsored regime in West Germany was just as frightened by the workers' upsurge as were the Kremlin bureaucrats. They feared the insurrection would spread to the rest of Germany and frantically broadcast messages for everyone to be "calm."

Could any imperialist power mobilize the overwhelming majority of East German workers into mass strikes? Were 50,000 arrested strikers and hundreds who were killed or wounded, fighting for a return to capitalism?

The struggle against Stalinism liberates the workers for their anti-capitalist fight. This was the meaning of the East German rebellion. This was what it meant to class conscious, revolutionary workers everywhere.

Brigitte Gerland, in this issue of the Militant, eloquently describes how the news of the East German uprising was received in the far-off, isolated prison camps of the Kremlin.

The Russian workers made the greatest revolution in history. They also know at first hand the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism. The political prisoners of Vorkuta understood that the East German events constituted a continuation of the victorious revolution of 1917.

Within a month the Vorkuta strike began. Inspired by the heroic struggle of the East German workers, the Vorkuta strike was "a reply, an echo, a beacon." They too wanted to free their hands for a revolutionary victory against imperialism.

The full consequence of the East German uprising lies ahead. The working class of West Germany knows it has a valiant ally across the cold-war border. When they, too, determine to rid their land of capitalist profiteers and imperialist occupation, all German workers will join hands. They will prove invincible.

A Case of Outrageous Persecution

The persecution of National Guardian editor Cedric Belfrage by the immigration authorities and federal courts is one of the most outrageous assaults on civil liberties in the current witch hunt.

Belfrage, who comes from England, was arrested for deportation two years ago when McCarthyism was running rampant. In fact, he was picked up the day after Senator McCarthy had put him through an inquisition.

The paper which Belfrage edits expresses the views of the Progressive Party. Its boldest and most radical ideas are a mild form of pacifism, the pious expression of hopes for peace and sympathy for the concept of "peaceful coexistence" between the capitalist world and the Soviet bloc.

Last December, after Ellis Island was closed, the Immigration and Naturalization Services rescinded an order sending possible deportees to jail. It announced they would be held instead in hotels and similar residences under custody.

On May 12, the Board of Immigration Appeal, allowing scant notice, upheld the Belfrage deportation order. The next day Belfrage was thrown into the West St. House of Detention in New York with no charge against him. He has twice been denied bail, by Federal District Court Judge Archie O. Dawson and again by Appeals Court Judge Harold Medina. He is the only deportation detainee, to our knowledge, denied bail.

One of the official reasons given for Belfrage's imprisonment is that he is "actively engaged in advocating policies which we think involve national security."

What kind of policies was he advocating that "involve national security?" What do the authorities mean by that? Do they mean his advocacy of peace? If that is grounds for jailing in this country, the prisons would not be able to hold a tenth or a hundreth of the people who are thinking or speaking or writing in a way to "involve national security."

Belfrage's case boils down to a plain and simple assault on the rights of free speech and press. It is an attempt to muzzle and silence an individual whose opinions do not accord with the State Department's. It is also part of a broader attempt to intimidate and frighten everyone who would question in any way Washington's policies on war and peace.

The victimization of Belfrage is a political prosecution. It has the most sinister implications. It can establish a precedent that might open a far-reaching invasion not only of the rights of non-citizens, but of the whole American press.

We are especially concerned over the regrettable abdication by the liberal and labor publications of their duties in this case. With few exceptions, they have maintained a shabby, cowardly silence. We warn them they are helping to put the witch-hunt knife to their own throats if they do not speak up strongly and in good time in defense of Belfrage.

The Shorter Work-Week Issue

There is an irrepressible quality to the demand for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. Although in the 1930's the shorter work-week demand was raised in many strikes, in recent years the AFL and CIO, while occasionally passing resolutions for the 30-hour week, haven't spelled it out as a fighting contract demand. Thus for many years it has figured as the slogan of the radical vanguard of the labor movement.

Now there are signs that 30-for-40 will break through as a major demand of the unions in next year's contract fights.

The CIO Packinghouse Workers Union, which held its National Policy Conference in Chicago May 9-13, adopted "30 hours work for 40-hours pay" as the "keystone policy for 1956 bargaining." The CIO Auto Workers Union at its Cleveland convention in March decided against making 30-for-40 a contract demand for this year. It is well known, however, that sentiment for the shorter work week with no reduction in pay has been mounting among auto workers during recent years, and particularly since the slump of 1954.

At the auto convention the Reuther leadership ducked making 30-for-40 a contract demand in this year's bargaining, and the delegation from Ford Local 600, long proponents of the demand, went along. Nevertheless, the attitude of the convention was considerably different than in 1953. At that time the proponents of 30-for-40 were red-baited as agents of the Kremlin. This time it was necessary to incorporate in the guaranteed wage resolution a clause "to place the winning of the shorter work week at the top of our union's collective bargaining agenda after the guaranteed wage has been achieved."

And Labor's Daily, May 25, reports that Victor Reuther told the world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Vienna, "The battle for shorter work weeks will soon be opened on a grand scale by the American labor movement."

The reason for the persistence of the 30-for-40 idea is indicated by the Packinghouse Workers policy meeting. The panel that brought in the proposal to the 400 delegates said, "Our position (for 30-for-40) must be related not only to the displacement of workers by machines, but also to the fact that millions of young people are now beginning to enlarge the ranks of those seeking jobs."

The union's paper, Packinghouse Worker, says, "Meeting under a huge banner reading '30 hours work for 40 hours pay,' the delegates made it clear that UPWA is headed straight down that road, not to be diverted."

We are quite sure that this decision will be met with enthusiasm, and not only among packinghouse workers. The American workers are plagued by the spectre of unemployment. The war prosperity inspires little confidence in a secure future. The 30-for-40 demand will continue to make its way to the fore as a central demand of the labor movement as long as the problem of unemployment exists, and that will be as long as the capitalist system is allowed to last.

...Echo of E. German Uprising in USSR

(Continued from page 1)

optimism somewhat and speak of the proverbial failures of the Social Democratic leadership to act for the German labor movement. But no one believes me.

"The German Social Democracy is still the embodiment of the German proletariat. And even if the leaders are weak and cowardly they are now compelled to act. Otherwise, they will be told to go to hell."

During the night, which is sunlit and bright as day, we sit — Leninists, Anarchists, and Monashki (religious pacifists) — in the instrumentalka, our secret gathering place.

The dark figures in their quilted jackets — for the sun-filled nights are cold — stand out sharply against the gold of the horizon, which in the glimmering background reminds one of old Russian icons.

WHAT TO DO

The voices rise and fall passionately in the small, packed room, where most can barely find place to sit on the ground. Faces vanish in a greyish cloud from the heavy smoke of cigarettes and makhorka (a low grade tobacco).

"They fight and we sit and debate as usual," says Alyonna, a young student, bitterly. "I have never felt so much a prisoner as today. Shoved out of the world where everything is happening. Useless and without power. What can we do, besides joining our comrades in our thoughts? Because they are our comrades, even if they know nothing about us."

"I know one thing above all else that we should not do," says one of the men firmly, "and that is to become sentimental. We all feel the same way. We all feel now is the time for us to act, to give those in East Germany a sign that we are on their side. But no one can make a revolution with sentiment, not even wage a sympathy strike. We have organized everything, planned everything, prepared everything. But the biggest obstacles of all — apathy, fear and confusion, which create more havoc than all the terror of the MVD — these can't be organized away. One can only overcome them slowly and patiently."

The Seventeenth of June helped us overcome fear, doubt, tiredness. Leaflets thrown in dark barrack corners, scribbled hurriedly on scraps of greasy paper were copied by the thousands and reached the furthest camps in the middle of the tundra and in the marshes of the Arctic sea coast.

"Comrades, Spartacus fights again in the German cities. This time the enemy is the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has thrown its panzer units against the workers in order to uphold in blood its power and privileges. The German workers are unarmed. Despite this fact, they don't let the machine guns overawe them, but are prepared to give their lives for a socialist Germany. They declare war on the Stalinist autocrats and the imperialist exploiters of the West in the spirit of Liebknecht and Luxemburg."

A Kremlin tank carries Maj. Gen. P. T. Dibrova (left, wearing military cap), commander of Soviet garrison in East Berlin, through ranks of demonstrating workers on June 17, 1953, at start of East German general strike of 2,000,000 against Stalinist rule.

THE VORKUTA REPLY

A month after the uprising in East Germany had been crushed, the great strike of the prisoners in Vorkuta began. It was a reply, an echo, a beacon.

In August 1952, while the coal pits of Vorkuta were at a standstill, thousands of prisoners in the mines of Karaganda and on the cottonfields of Kazakstan quit work.

In the widely dispersed camp command on the Siberian river Lena, armed uprisings broke out in the fall of 1953. One part of the soldier guard fought on the side of the prisoners. Only bloody suppression brought an end to the uprising after many days.

Japanese war prisoners who shortly thereafter were returned to their country, reported a second mass strike in Karaganda in the spring of 1954. Apparently, it was organized by prisoners who had belonged to the Vorkuta strike committees and had been deported as punishment.

That was a year ago. What is happening now? What happened and what is happening in the hundreds of camps, from which no foreigner has been released? We don't know.

We know only that the pressure of the Soviet masses on the rulers in the Kremlin and their adherents among the privileged upper strata has become stronger, and that because of this the desire of these rulers for "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist exploiters has also grown stronger. These wishes lead the Soviet bureaucracy to shed what is left of its commmunist disguise.

Thus the Stalinist union functionaries in the West-bloc countries receive the directive to prevent strikes because strikes are supposed to be against the true interests of the working class, whose demands can only be fulfilled through a general increase in production in all countries. A policy of strikes is denounced as inexcusable and short-sighted. Nikita Khrushchev means it, too.

However, he expresses himself in far more flowery language when he coyly entreats the imperialists not to come into his garden since he really doesn't have the slightest intention of going into theirs. What a telling contrast when one thinks of Vorkuta or Karaganda. And what a pity it is that events such as the uprising in East Berlin or the mass strike in Vorkuta continues to disturb the idyll of Comrade Khrushchev.

THE BONN LEGEND

When I returned so suddenly and unexpectedly to the "free world" — represented in the first place by the German Federal Republic — I overwhelmed everyone I met with questions. My first concern however, was the Seventeenth of June.

Naturally, everyone tried to sell me on the Bonn version, which has frozen into a national legend. This legend also has the blessing of the Big Brother from the all-golden West. (Herr Adenauer's West is only partially golden — namely, in its upper regions). This version tells of a German national uprising, flamed by the desire to adhere to the truncated half of Germany protected by America. And in this way at last to enjoy the blessings of the capitalist market economy and enlightened Catholic absolutism. To me this explanation didn't ring true.

Why should workers die in the streets in order to exchange bureaucratic misery for capitalist exploitation? Why should workers attack Soviet tanks with stones and clubs in order, in the end, to return to a Reich, ruled by an unholy alliance of unscrupulous Big Business, fascist militarism and Catholic bourgeois reaction?

So I probed deeper and soon established that the official West German legend, about the Seventeenth of June, was, like most legends, a pious lie, invented to increase the fame of the all-Christian chancellor and the free-enterprise golden calf.

PARTICIPANT'S REPORT

After several attempts I contacted escaped workers who had belonged to the strike committees. Their account agreed in nothing with the Bonn interpretation.

"It began as a spontaneous protest demonstration against the raising of production quotas and ended as an uprising against the Soviet bureaucracy," a June 17 fighter told me. "In the beginning it really was limited to wages, speedup and prices. But then we ourselves were astonished when more and more workers came over to us, who wanted not only to demonstrate and strike but fight for a regime of workers' councils. That is what we placed on the streamers and placards that speedily appeared and that were carried triumphantly on the long demonstration march.

"It was the thought of a Germany of workers' councils," he continued, "for which our fathers fought in vain 30 years ago, that drove us forward even as the first Soviet tanks emerged threateningly. We waited only for the West German workers to help us. We waited for a general strike — a general strike that would be kept up until the withdrawal of all occupation forces. But we waited in vain."

Why again in vain, as so often before in the tragic history of the German proletariat?

This question is not easy to answer. The Social Democratic leadership defaulted. It did nothing, didn't lift a finger. In the party offices, everyone sat at his writing desk and waited — this one nervous, that one apathetic, but each without a policy and unable to come to a decision. The right wing hoped vaguely for American intervention. The so-called left wing hoped for nothing, since it could make up its mind about nothing. The West Berlin workers tried in every way possible to come to the help of their comrades in East Berlin. But that was not enough.

Without the Soviet soldiers' heroic refusal to fire on demonstrating and striking workers, the uprising would have been drowned in blood during the first hours. As it was, the Soviet bureaucrats needed three days to put an end to the "rebellion" which spread with hurricane speed over the entire occupation zone.

Three days are a long time. A revolutionary party acting as the vanguard of the West German proletariat would have used these three days to press the uprising against the foreign occupation and the German exploiters tied to the occupation. Then the revolution could not have been stopped.

...An Open Letter to Foster

(Continued from page 1)

ment the patent absurdity of this explanation. Let us for the moment agree that Stalin, "the all-wise and infallible leader," and the whole regime in the Soviet Union, was fooled by Beria into complicity in a hideous frame-up. What then?

Shouldn't every political prisoner now in jail as a result of "Beria's provocations" be immediately released?

If you accept the Khrushchev explanation, as the Daily Worker has, you are in effect saying: "I too, along with Stalin and all the officials of the Soviet Union, was fooled by Beria . . . I sincerely regret what happened."

How sincerely? Will you support the demand of the Socialist Workers Party, which I cabled to Khrushchev June 1: "In interest of USSR and world working class we demand you release from prisons and slave-labor camps all victims of this frame-up?"

In my cable to Khrushchev I also demand that he permit an international civil liberties commission to examine the "materials" and "facts" he referred to, and establish the truth about who was framed-up and who did the framing.

You will undoubtedly raise the cry that such an investigation will harm the Soviet Union and play into the hands of American imperialism.

Utterly false!

The truth cannot hurt the Soviet Union. The frame-up, the lie, the stifling regime of bureaucracy, with its monstrous prisons, purges and concentration camps — that is what hurts the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world working class.

The struggle of the Soviet working class against the regime of frame-ups and lies of the privileged bureaucracy is a vital part of the world struggle of the working class for socialist liberation. By standing in the way of that struggle and by supporting the Kremlin's frame-up system, the Communist Party weakens the fight against American capitalism and plays into the hands of the witch hunters.

Farrell Dobbs
National Secretary, SWP

STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM
AND
THE MOSCOW TRIALS

By LEON TROTSKY

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges.

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...Mass Pressure On School Bias

(Continued from page 1)

which "guarantees" fair trials to Negroes in the South. The countless Negro victims of legal lynching, a few of whose cases get up to the Supreme Court, are testimony to this "good faith."

MANY LOOPHOLES

In addition to virtually granting the South "indefinite delay and local option" by refusal to set a date when desegregation should begin and by putting enforcement into the hands of local school boards and district judges, the ruling contains many other loopholes.

These will all be used to the utmost by Southern officials who are already mapping plans for evasion and endless litigation. They will probably have the effect also of slowing down the integration which began last year in the border states.

It is, of course, correct for the NAACP to make plans for pressing the Southern school boards as hard and as soon as it can through legal moves. But it is wrong to paint up the recent legal blow that desegregation got from the Supreme Court as a victory. That misleads people and may cause demoralization later.

Legal actions against segregationist school boards will meet with success to the degree that the Negro people and the labor movement are mobilized to throw their weight into the struggle. And it will be the struggle which will determine what rulings the courts will decide to hand down.

The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, largest of the independent rail unions, is understood to be talking merger with AFL-CIO. By joining the new labor federation the BRT would have to surrender 8,000 bus drivers and 8,000 switchmen to other AFL unions.

World Events

GREEK REFUGEES, many of whom left as children during the civil war and are now returning to their homeland, are becoming a danger point for the present government. According to the AFL News-Reporter, "the Greek government is finding it virtually impossible to meet the most elementary economic and social needs of its returning citizens." The repatriates are lodged in ramshackle buildings, eight to fourteen to a room, and in camps that apparently are developing into concentration camps.

* * *

BANK CLERKS' STRIKE in Santiago, Chile, dubbed illegal by President Ibanez, threatens to bring about a general strike. Ibanez is opposed not only by Chilean labor but by the parliament. He has admitted that 24 of the country's 25 parties are against him. Observers wonder which will come first — an uprising or a presidential coup d'etat.

* * *

ARMED VIOLENCE has broken out in Central Colombia. The Colombian army has undertaken full-scale military operations to put down the opposition to the country's dictatorship. The regime claims that the uprising is Communist inspired, but most observers discount this, seeing regional economic and political grievances as the cause. A number of prisoners have been shot by the troops by the notorious device of the **ley fuga**. This is the Latin American term for shooting prisoners and then claiming they "tried to escape."

* * *

OLD "DIVIDE AND RULE" technique of British imperialism seems to be paying off in the Indian Ocean colony of Mauritius. Though this island is thousands of miles from India, a majority of the population (almost a half-million) is Indian, descendants of indentured laborers brought to work the sugar plantations. Faced with growing sentiment for independence and the emergence of a Labor Party, British interests **began a campaign to inflame** Hindu-Moslem religious differences. They also charged the Labor Party was "communist" and wanted to annex Mauritius to India. The campaign bore fruit with an outbreak of fierce communal rioting. The Labor Party, which has members of all religious groups in it, has demanded an investigation of the role of the capitalist press and the police in fomenting the riots.

* * *

PORTUGUESE POLICE FIRED into a group of 54 Indian passive resisters who crossed the boundary from India into the Portuguese-held city of Goa on the Indian coast. Four Indians were wounded. Police beat up seven others. Portugal is trying desperately to hold on to its colonies in India. French imperialism recently was forced to give up five ports it held in India.

* * *

FOUR HUNDRED STORM TROOPERS of South Africa were sent 700 miles southeast of Johannesburg to close Fort Hare College, the only Negro college in the country. The government feared the resistance of the student body as the Strijdom regime pushed its program of teaching Africans to perform only menial work.

* * *

DANIEL GUERIN, noted French socialist author, and vigorous opponent of imperialism, was arrested in Puerto Rico by U. S. immigration authorities, while his plane made a scheduled stop. Guerin was on his way from Haiti to the island of Martinique, according to the May 5 France-Observateur. He was confined under guard for 36 hours in a hotel and then sent back to Haiti, despite all the efforts of the French consul. This incident delayed his arrival in Martinique by several days.

* * *

AN "EVENTUAL" 30-HOUR WEEK was called for by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress which concluded its convention in Windsor, Ont., June 5. A resolution for a minimum wage law was also passed.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1955 — NUMBER 24

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The FBI — Servant of Reaction

Apologists for capitalism say that the state, or government, in this country is an impartial agency which represents the majority of the people and defends their interests.

Marxists say that the state in the class-divided society in which we live represents the interests of the ruling class; that the democratic processes are utilized as a camouflage to conceal the operations of the minority who own and control the means by which the working people make their living; that the institutions and agencies of capitalism have as their main function the preservation of this system of privilege and profit for the few at the expense of the masses.

The operation of the FBI as a tool of the capitalist dictatorship is particularly scandalous in its complete contempt for the rights of Negroes.

Although the Cleveland Call and Post and other Negro newspapers do not accept the Marxist premise or conclusions about the class nature of the state, events constantly compel them to protest against the biased functioning of its agencies. Here, in a June 4 Call and Post editorial is a typical example:

"Two weeks have passed since a Mississippi minister was barbarously ambushed, his face shot away by a blast from a shotgun, and his lynchers allowed to ride away into the night while local officials callously intimidated any who might come forward as witnesses.

"Within hours after the crime occurred the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, those two crack Government agencies so highly touted on radio, television and newspaper front page for their infallibility in tracking down wrongdoers, were asked to enter the case.

"To date, there has been no announcement that the Government has moved toward Mississippi in any way whatever in this case. Three years ago, when a similar outrage [occurred] in Florida and the State head of the NAACP, Harry Moore, was blasted off the face of the earth, the FBI and the Department of Justice were asked to step in. No one ever served a day in jail for the Moore lynching.

"Will Mississippi be another Harry Moore case? Is the FBI strictly a television program? Does the Department of Justice don the blindfold usually seen on pictures of Miss Justice, herself, when Negroes are the targets of violence? Or may we expect to see action soon?"

The questions in the editorial are rhetorical, of course. The editors were not born yesterday. They know that the right of Negroes to equal justice before the law is a legal fiction. They also know where the FBI is — busy investigating interracial groups and organizations, snooping into the private lives of militant unionists of socialists, or of any opponents of the political parties in power, and compiling dossiers with which to smear or frame-up persons guilty of the "un-American activity" of opposing Jim Crow in all its forms.

'How to Spot a Communist'

By Art Preis

The June, 1955, American Civil Liberties Union-News reproduces what may well become one of the classic writings of our time. It is a study, prepared by the First Army, entitled, "How to Spot a Communist." It was issued last January 7 to civilian personnel by Maj. Robert C. Perron, in charge of Plant Protection at the Watertown Arsenal, Massachusetts.

There is "no foolproof way of detecting a Communist," the introduction immediately admits. With almost a note of regret, the study explains: "The Communist individual is no longer a 'type' exemplified by the bearded and coarse revolutionary with time bomb in briefcase." How simple life would be if only the Communists hadn't shaved off their beards and discarded the ticking briefcases which, like the rattle of a rattlesnake, gave advance warning of their presence. Now, they "come from all walks of life" and that sure broadens the field.

But don't throw up your hands in defeat. There are "indications . . .often subtle but always present." And the first of these is a "Communist Language" which is "not defined in dictionaries or taught in schools." How can you tell when you are hearing this strange foreign language? By its "sentence structure and vocabulary."

We are told that "a certain heaviness of style and preference for long sentences is common to most Communist writings." Observe the following: "If the artistic expression turns instead to a false, empty and unclear spirit, which deform the design of the Creator, if instead of elevating the mind and heart to noble sentiments, it should incite more vulgar passions, it might find acclaim or acceptance by some, even if only because of novelty which is not always of merit."

Beg pardon! We must have mixed up our notes. That last example of heaviness of style and addiction to long sentences comes from a statement on modern art by Pope Pius XII. But, there is a still further test — "a distinct vocabulary." If you hear or read all or any of the following words you're probably hot on the trail of a "Communist": "vanguard, comrade, hootenanny, chauvinism, book-burning, jingoism, colonialism, hooliganism, ruling class, demagogy, dialectical, witch-hunt, reactionary, oppressive, materialist, progressive." But that's just the beginning. "This list, selected at random, could be extended indefinitely." And just remember there's more than 500,000 words in the Webster Unabridged Dictionary.

Of course, if you hear someone say "witch hunt," you can be sure you have a "Communist" right under your nose. That word was coined back in 1692 by the underground Communist cell in Salem, Mass.

But, if you can't follow the ins and outs of sentence structure and if all big words sound strange to you, there's still another way to "spot a Communist." That is by the "issues raised" by an individual. If anyone speaks of "'McCarthyism,'" "Violation of Civil Rights," "Racial or religious discrimination," "Immigration laws," "Anti-subversive legislation," "Any legislation concerning labor unions," "The military budget," "'Peace,'" — brother you are facing a "Communist." You are also facing about 95% of the American people. The other 5% are infants and idiots, like the authors of "How to Spot a Communist."

Notes from the News

A WITNESS TO LYNCHING of Rev. George W. Lee, Belzoni, Mississippi, leader in fight for Negroes to vote, has been located in East St. Louis by the NAACP. He is Alex. Hudson, who fled Belzoni in fear of his own life shortly after Lee's murder. Hudson saw the car which overtook Lee's and heard the shots ring out. Rev. James A. Hargrove of Milestone, Miss., a friend of the late Rev. Lee, has also had to flee Mississippi. He got word that he "was likely to follow Rev. Lee if he didn't quit working for the NAACP."

* * *

EINSTEIN'S EXECUTOR, Dr. Otto Nathan, has won his battle for a passport. The State Department had refused him one on political grounds even though his intended trip to Switzerland was necessary for the putting of Einstein's scientific papers in order. Nathan got federal district Judge Schweinhaut to order the State Department to issue a passport. The passport officials made as if to fight the court order but at the last minute reversed themselves.

SOUTHERN BELL TELEPHONE CO. has brought suit for $5 million against the CIO Communications Workers for alleged damage done it during the recent 72-day strike. The union denies the charges and labels the action a violation of the strike settlement and a company attempt to "alibi" its loss of the strike. A noteworthy part of the new contract, which wasn't clear in the first announcements, is that the Southern phone workers have won the contractual right to respect other workers' picket lines. This is especially important for mutual support of the long lines and Western Electric workers who also belong to CWA but bargain in separate units.

* * *

SHIVERS GETS A COLD SHOULDER from University of Southern California students. After President Dr. F. C. Fagg invited Texas Governor Allan Shivers as a commencement speaker the student organization circulated a protest that the Governor "has consistently demonstrated lack of ideals of tolerance, integrity and intelligence." Dr. Fagg branded their action "immature and ill advised." Students responded by organizing a boycott of commencement exercises while some Negro seniors have turned back their caps and gowns.

* * *

DEATH RATE OF INDIAN CHILDREN due to "neglect by the Federal Government" is far higher than the national average, Senator Estes Kefauver told the Senate. He cited a survey which showed that in Arizona Indian infants die at the rate of 132 per thousand in the first year of life as against a national average of 40 per thousand. Another survey showed that for a group of Indian children life expectancy was 17 years as against a national average of 69.

* * *

NO WONDER THE PRESS IS FRIENDLY. General Motors spent $37,391,415 for newspaper advertising last year. This kept GM in top place for newspaper advertising for the eighth consecutive year.

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Labor Unity in Action

On behalf of Lodge 1433, Intl. Assn. of Machinists (AFL), Lodge Pres. Frank Dumin presents $1,000 check to Connie Lee, financial secretary of Local 207, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (independent), whose members have been on strike against Landers Frary & Clark in New Britain, Conn. Other IAM and UE leaders look on. All AFL and CIO unions in the town, organized as a United Labor Committee, support the UE strike.

Bitter Labor Struggles Continue in the South

By John Thayer

The class struggle has by no means quieted down in the South. Dozens of battles are being waged and strikers are being subjected to police and hired-thug terrorism.

The ten-state strike of Greyhound Bus drivers advanced a step when the company, which for two months refused to even meet with the union, consented to negotiate. This occurred after the strikers had voted emphatically against a company "offer" made — not to the union — but by mail to the men individually. The vote was more than 600 against and one for. Not a single Greyhound bus has operated in the struck areas. The AFL Motor Coachmen recently held a strike meeting in Winston-Salem, N.C. Over 300 strikers attended though many had to come from as far as Florida and Ohio.

MIAMI HOTEL STRIKE

In Miami the AFL Hotel workers are suffering heavily from a blizzard of court injunctions which order pickets away from one hotel after another. The union has asked for a Senatorial investigation of alleged collusion by the Hotel Association against individual owners who would like to settle.

Another important strike is that of 1,500 CIO Packinghouse Workers against the Colonial and Godchaux sugar refineries in Louisiana. At issue is whittling down the North-South wage differential. The present differential in this industry is 41c an hour. In the North the union recently won a 7c an hour increase. It has demanded a 10c increase of Southern refiners to bring the differential down to 38c. This demand has already been won at two Louisiana refineries — American Sugar and Henderson.

A back-to-work movement at Godchaux collapsed when the interracial ranks of the strikers held firm. Of 950 workers, only four fell for the company line. Godchaux is attempting to hog-tie the union with injunctions. Already a temporary injunction has reduced picketing from 12 to four stations with only two pickets at these stations.

Godchaux is famous for the injunctions it manages to get. One, against the AFL Agricultural Workers, which tried to organize its plantation workers, has been appealed all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court. It permanently forbids the workers from going on strike during the harvest season.

MASS TRIAL

In Fayettville, Tennessee, where the AFL Ladies Garment Workers has been on strike against the Serbin Co. since April 19, Judge Robert E. Lee has just conducted a mass trial. Nine women have been sentenced to one and two months in jail and 72 others given stiff fines. This is the same judge who issued the "iron curtain" injunction, forbidding strikers to come within 1,000 feet of the plant. The order forced the moving of union headquarters and several union families. Nearly 200 women have been arrested so far. On one occasion 25 of them were crammed into a small cell.

In Knoxville, Tenn., Mayor "Shoot-to-kill" Dempster's police have turned their attention to the Knox Porcelain strikers. The East Tennessee Labor News protests this harrassment and warns that rural recruiting of strike-breakers is being attempted.

Newark Council Beats a Retreat On Witch Hunt

By Daniel Roberts

SWP Candidate for N. J. Senate, Essex County

NEWARK, June 7 — Confronted by growing popular opposition to its witch-hunting measures, the Newark City Council last week tabled indefinitely a motion to investigate "Communist" activity among city employes.

At the June 1 Council meeting speakers representing the CIO, the Americans for Democratic Action and the Newark Teachers Union (AFL) opposed the probe as well as provisions for loyalty questionnaires and oaths. The latter two measures were adopted by the Council two weeks ago.

While giving in on the proposal to set up an investigating committee, the City Council refused to rescind its previous decision providing for questionnaires and oaths.

Ever since the middle of May, when the House Un-American Activities Committee conducted a probe in Newark, witch-hunters and opponents of the witch-hunt have been engaged in open battle.

The witch-hunters sought to continue attacks on civil liberties in Newark which were started by the Un-American Committee. Mayor Leo P. Carlin and Board of Education President William C. Ricigliano teamed up to suspend three teachers — Dr. Robert Lowenstein, Perry Zimmerman and Miss Estelle Laba — because they invoked the Fifth Amendment before the Un-American Committee. And the City Council voted to institute oaths, questionnaires and probes.

Civil liberties defenders, on the other hand, took courage from the spirited opposition waged against the Un-American Committee at its hearings. At that time, 1500 United Electrical Workers members picketed the committee on the first day of hearings and nearly 1,000 people attended a protest meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee two days later.

JOIN STRUGGLE

The significant aspect of the struggle is that organizations that remained on the sidelines during the Un-American Committee visit, have now entered the struggle against extending the witch-hunt.

For instance, at the Board of Education meeting held May 26, before a packed audience of over 500 people, Mrs. Belle Rosenberg, Newark chairman of the ADA and R. Joseph Bruder, president of the Newark Teachers Union demanded that the three teachers be reinstated unless proven unfit to teach. They made it clear that they did not consider use of the Fifth Amendment sufficient grounds for dismissal.

Although Bruder weakened his case by saying that proven Communist Party members should not be allowed to teach, he demanded a trial in which the accused could cross-examine witnesses against them.

This demand was a challenge to the notorious system of "faceless informers," a basic prop of the witch-hunt. The three teachers were hailed before the House Un-American Activities Committee solely on the secret "testimony" of Bella Dodd, a paid government witness.

Dodd was the informer who smeared Senator Clifford Case (R-N. J.) during the 1952 elections, claiming that she knew his sister as a "Communist." Case showed that this was a lie.

UNION RAISES FUNDS

The Newark Teachers Union also sent a letter to its members requesting contributions to a fund for the defense of the three teachers. In a later press release, the union announced that it is seeking funds from parents as well.

One of three witch-hunt victims, Lowenstein, executive vice-president of the union, has the reputation of being the most popular teacher in the Newark high schools. This has made possible the rallying of maximum support for his defense.

Lowenstein has sent a letter to all his students and former students stating his side of the case. "If I were rich," he wrote, "I could have told the House Committee on Un-American Activities that I invoke the protection of the First Amendment against any invasion of my privacy — my beliefs, associations, writings, etc. Under the circumstances I had to refuse to bear witness against myself under the Fifth Amendment."

In setting hearings for the three teachers, the Board of Education announced that it would not try to determine whether they are members of the Communist Party. Only the question whether invoking the Fifth Amendment disqualifies a teacher will be at issue.

Thus the next stage of the battle between witch-hunters and defenders of civil liberties will be fought over one of the main provisions of the Bill of Rights — namely, the Fifth Amendment.

...A Close-up on Oakland SWP Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

constitutes at least 14% of the city population.

An influx of workers from Mexico and Mexican-Americans from the Southwest, has increased that minority group to an estimated 40,000 within Oakland and the rest of Alameda county. Also present is a minority of Portugese who came originally as skilled fishermen and later branched into other occupations.

HEAVILY EXPLOITED

In places like the cotton mill the minority peoples are heavily exploited at low rates of pay. Industrial workers in general face a terrible speedup on the job. Seasonal operation of the canneries provides enough work to disqualify employees from jobless compensation but not enough for them to earn a steady living.

Idle cranes in the shipyards symbolize a slump in some industries that has tossed many Oakland workers into the jobless pool of 54,000 throughout the Bay Area. Within Alameda county alone 33,000 people are on relief according to the April figures.

Rents are high, even for the many dwellings that have deteriorated into slums. All controls have been lifted, leaving people at the mercy of the real-estate sharks. Housing conditions are worst of all for segregated minority peoples.

Negroes in one "temporary" housing project, built over a decade ago, have only kerosene stoves to heat their flimsy wooden dwellings. Many fires break out in these tinder boxes and quickly spread from house to house.

School facilities are likewise inadequate. The shortage is so bad that in some cases attendance is reduced to a half-day schedule in order to ease the overcrowding.

What irony then to see in a slum district a sign reading "Income Tax Advice," offering people help, for a price, in figuring how much of their meager earnings must go to help finance the capitalist war program. There is room for doubt that the slum dwellers believe Senator Knowland, who controls the only daily paper in the city, when he tells them nothing is more important to the people of Oakland than to smash the Chinese revolution and put Chiang Kai-shek back into power as a puppet of the American capitalists.

SWP CAMPAIGN

In this setting the SWP campaigners went out during the elections to reach the workers, students and minority peoples with the socialist program. No radio or TV time was available to them. They had only modest success in breaking into the capitalist press. They had to reach people the hard way, but in doing so they got closer in touch with popular sentiment.

The party campaigners distributed and sold socialist literature at factory gates and union halls, on the campus, around supermarkets, in housing projects and door-to-door in slum areas. Cards were passed out introducing the party candidate, a woman worker with 16 years experience in the labor and socialist movement. On these cards the party program appeared in simplified form.

As the candidate, Comrade Kiezel spoke to around 1,400 workers at various union meetings and another 500 people at different community gatherings. She also addressed over 1,000 Negro people at the churches which serve as the social and organizational center of their community life. These churchgoers usually discussed the speech later at home and among their friends with the result that about five times as many people actually heard about it.

In her speeches Comrade Kiezel cut through the fakery of the so-called "non-partisan" elections and told her listeners, "Nobody is non-partisan in the class struggle. I speak for a party that is an all-out partisan of the working class and an uncompromising opponent of the capitalist class."

CLASS STRUGGLE LINE

She pin-pointed the clash of class interests over the housing question, the key local issue of the campaign, through two demands: "Halt the capitalist war spending and use these billions to provide homes, schools and other urgent needs of the working people. Remove the present taxes on low-income groups and levy a 100% tax on war profits."

To aid victims of creeping unemployment the SWP candidate called for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay and jobless compensation at union wages. She spoke for an FEPC law with teeth in it to combat discrimination against minority peoples and a fight to win economic equality for working women.

"Give the youth a future," Comrade Kiezel urged, "by stopping the draft and offering young people a full educational opportunity in an atmosphere of academic freedom. Defend freedom of thought and expression to clear the way for the critical political thinking so urgently needed by the American people. Break out of the trap of capitalist politics and work to form a Labor Party based on the unions, a class party serving the interests of the working people."

A group of business people she addressed were shocked speechless by her sharp attack on capitalism. At union meetings, on the other hand, her presentation of the SWP program was received without hostility. Party literature was accepted at factory gates in a friendly manner.

Listeners at Negro churches echoed "Amen" to some of her remarks, particularly when she attacked the liberal capitalist politicians in Congress. In many instances people fed up with capitalist double-talk seemed refreshed and stimulated to hear a candidate speak bluntly on the issues and take a forthright stand on a plainly-stated program.

When election day came over 9,000 people voted for the SWP candidate, giving her 16% of the total ballots cast. Since Comrade Kiezel was the only opponent of the Republican incumbent who was up for re-election as Councilman-at-large, some of the votes she received were protest ballots against his policies. Yet many of the votes were cast in direct support of the SWP program or some special aspect of it. That is indicated by Comrade Kiezel's evaluation of the response SWP campaigners observed during their electioneering.

"We found considerable fear among the people over the consequences of the capitalist war program," she said. "At the factories much interest was shown in the 30-40 demand. Discussion of the anti-labor offensive around the 'Right to Work' laws got a response, mainly from seasoned unionists.

"During my talks before unions," Comrade Kiezel emphasized, "the membership nodded agreement with some criticisms of the Democrats but the officials usually got rigid. Dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party appears to have increased in the union ranks. However most workers still seem to hope they can reshape that capitalist political tool into a labor instrument.

"In conversations with workers," she added, "a number expressed the notion that sooner or later a Labor Party will be formed. Some of the votes I received were probably from workers who wanted to say they would like to see a Labor Party come sooner rather than later."

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